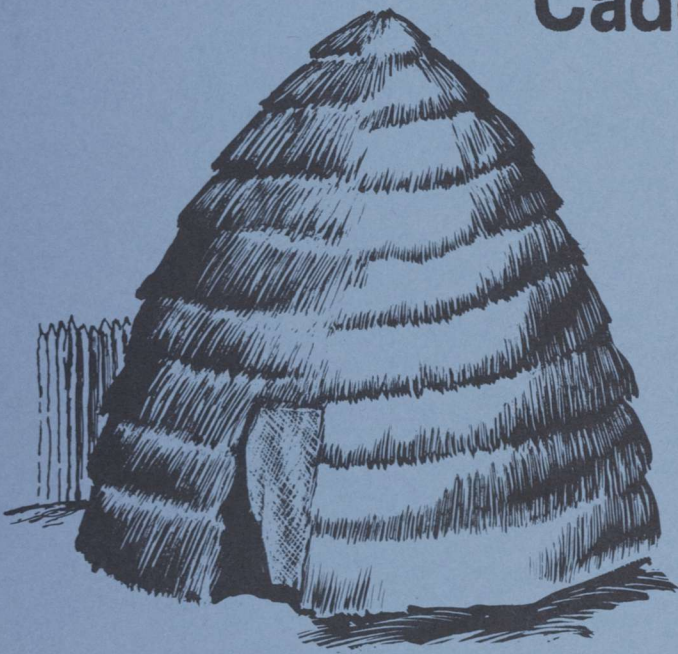


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BULLETIN 30

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By Mildred Mott Wedel²

In 1719 Jean-Baptiste Bénard de La Harpe set up a post on Red River, a western tributary of the Mississippi, to establish trade relations with the Spaniards then in Texas and New Mexico. This study proposes a location for the site of this structure built in an Upper Nasoni village above the Great Bend of the Red. Neighboring Caddo settlements were described by the Frenchman in terms that related to his post, so having postulated where it was erected, this paper also suggests the location of settlements of the Kadohadacho, Upper Natchitoches, and the *Nadsoo* or *Natsoo* ("Nanatsoho" in Hodge, 1907-1910, 2: 23). The basic source for data has been La Harpe's 1718-1720 journal.

The information developed here may enable archeologists working in northeast Texas and southwest Arkansas to apply the "direct historic" or "upstreaming" approach in their research, a methodology that has been highly rewarding, particularly in the northern plains, the northeast, and southwest, when carried out with thoroughness and critical skill. This distinctive way of studying archeological materials has been described as moving "from the known to the unknown" (Strong, 1935: 6, 296; W. R. Wedel, 1938). The "unknown" is prehistoric time. The "known" refers to the historic period.

The data for the later period is drawn from documentary sources such as memoirs, letters, official government correspondence, journals, and so on, using the principles of another "approach," the ethnohistoric. To do this, the written records must be critically examined and evaluated in order to de-

termine their kind and degree of validity. Then they must be viewed with the insights of anthropology. The bridge between the "known" and "unknown" is made possible by identification of the village location of a historically recognized people with an archeological site component that gives evidence of Euro-American contact. The soundness of the construct depends upon the skill and care with which it is put together and the amount of historic data and archeological material available (M. Wedel, 1976: 7-11). When this gap has been bridged, a relative chronology displaying cultural continuity of great time depth, anchored to historic times, may be achievable so that a report on the archeological data involved will take on added significance. It is to be hoped that if the arguments presented here regarding Caddo settlement locations are acceptable to professional archeologists, they will proceed to carry further the direct historic approach in their analysis of the archeology of the region. This is a logical procedure and one that could lead to greater insights than have been obtained through study of archeological materials alone.

Jean-Baptiste Bénard, Sieur de La Harpe, first came to the Louisiana colony in 1718 when he was 35 years old. (Note that his surname, not his given name, was Bénard, often mistakenly written "Bernard.") The title he inherited had originally been given to his father, a famed sea captain of St. Malo, France. Having grown up in that city on the English channel, Jean-Baptiste served when 18 in the cavalry of Philip V of Spain. Later, he was to use his knowledge of the Spanish language to advantage in the Red River region. Between 1703 and 1705 he was in South America where presumably he had contact

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with its Indians. His purpose in coming to Louisiana was to claim a concession on Red River where he intended to erect a post from which to establish trade with the New Mexico and Texas Spaniards. He brought from France a group of 40, mostly men from St. Malo or Nearby Rennes, some titled associates, and some indentured workers (*Rolle des Concessionnaires*, 1718). Having landed at Dauphin Island, off Mobile, in August 1718, he received that fall the approval of the Council of Louisiana for his venture, as well as the enthusiastic endorsement of LeMoyne de Bienville, governor-general of the Louisiana colony. As a result of his own determination and perseverance, rather than effective assistance from the Company of the West, La Harpe reached the mouth of Red River by January 10, 1719 (M. Wedel, 1971: 41-42). Not until April 1, however, did the Frenchman finally arrive at the mouth of Sulphur River. The rapids and raft of the Red had been largely responsible for his spending three months in the effort to reach this point with his several heavily laden pirogues and flat boats.

Many details of La Harpe's stay in French Louisiana were recorded by him on a day-to-day basis. It would seem that in January 1720, when he was back from Red River and in the lower colony awaiting a ship on which to return to France, he put his scrawled field notes—later evidently discarded—into better form. It appears too that at this time he may have added some incidental information he picked up from Louisiana officials. The only manuscript of La Harpe's 1718-1720 journal that is now extant is in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* of France in Paris (M. Wedel, 1974: 17-25). It is not in La Harpe's handwriting but is part of a copy of several of his documents: the journal of the Red River expedition, journals of two later journeys in Louisiana, and a memoir. I have made my own translation of this Paris copy of the journal, assisted in questionable passages by Monica Heiman of Canyon, Texas and Marie-

Claude Brown of Rennes, France. The translation made by Ralph A. Smith in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (62: 1-4) is of Pierre Margry's printing of the journal (1876-86, 6: 243-306) wherein Margry made inexcusable alterations, deletions, and additions.

The journal contains notations of features La Harpe observed while traveling, happenings of interest, and the direct-line distance and direction he advanced each day. Direction was determined by reading the compass we know he carried. How did he estimate distance? It may be that on clear sections of rivers he used dead reckoning to measure his progress, that is, a measurement based on log-line (a length of rope floated by a chunk of wood at the end) and time. His overland distance estimates also were probably linked to a time reading. We know he had a timepiece of some sort with him because on certain occasions he mentions the hour of the day events occurred. The common league of France was an "itinerary" unit, the equivalent of an hour's travel on foot (Richelet, 1728; La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, 1880: 174; Jones, 1963: 77). In the 1700s the common or land league was recognized as 25 leagues to a degree, or 4444½ meters, which would be slightly over 2.76 miles per league (G. Delisle, 1700 map *L'Amérique/Septentrionale; Société de Gens de Lettres*, 1771, v. 16; E. Littré, 1869, 2: 305). The straight-line distance of advance in leagues reported daily by La Harpe was a calculation derived from a number of annotations made during the meandering march of the day. He described this recorded figure as "corrected" or "reduced."

In a 1972-1974 on-the-ground reconstruction of the route taken by La Harpe from his Red River post northwest to a meeting with Caddoan-speaking Indians in the southern plains, my associates—Waldo R. Wedel, Larry Banks, and Quintus Herron—and I were greatly impressed when we found that our straight-line map distances consistently correlated with La Harpe's computed straight-

line league distances when multiplied by the mileage length of the common league. They did not correlate exactly. The Frenchman with some regularity overestimated his distance by a mile or two. This probably related to his calculation for the "corrected" figure. Understandably, his winding route across high crests of the Ouachita Mountains resulted in excessive direct-line estimates of distance covered, but this was an exception. Only a general description of the course of La Harpe's travel will be presented in this report; it will not indulge in comparative analysis of distance figures. For this it will be necessary to await publication of a longer, more detailed manuscript now in preparation on La Harpe's 1718-1720 experience in the Louisiana colony.

At the mouth of Sulphur River the Natchitoches Indians, who had joined the party downstream, explained to the Frenchman that there was a short cut to the Upper Nasoni Caddo settlement, one that led up the Sulphur and then overland. La Harpe said it was 15 leagues in length, 37 leagues shorter than the Red River course. It was evidently the customary route taken by the Natchitoches when they went to the settlements above the Great Bend, comparable to the trace that led north from the Hasinai Caddo of the Neches and Angelina rivers to the same region.

Therefore, after sending all but one of his boats by the longer route, La Harpe and some of the Indians proceeded up Sulphur River in a pirogue. Less than two days of travel appears to have brought them into the region of Days Creek. This is now the first good-sized tributary to enter the Sulphur on its north side. Its valley, which lies NNW to SSE, has been greatly modified by strip mining for gravel and by expansion westward of the city of Texarkana. The "Nasoni portage" evidently took off to the NNW somewhere near the stream's mouth. For the most part, the path probably followed a crestline to the west of

Days Creek, thereby avoiding the tangled growth of the floodplain that reaches to the creek bank and passing through the woods of oak, walnut, and hickory described by La Harpe. The Frenchman figured the party made about 15 miles, a long day, before it came upon a "beautiful" stream by which it camped. By paralleling Days Creek valley proper (fig. 1), and then Swampoodle or Cowhorn tributary creeks, the travelers would have come to an east-west divide where in less than a mile Clear Creek heads. This would have been a spring-fed stream—a "spring branch"—which would deserve the adjective "beautiful." Today it flows north into Bringle and Waterworks lakes, which provide the water supply of Texarkana. The next day the men probably followed down Clear Creek coming out of the bluffs near its mouth at McKinney Bayou.

It may have been there that La Harpe was met by the war chief and his entourage of Upper Nasoni and where an initial welcoming ceremony took place. After this, the visitors were mounted on horses and all rode together through "extensive and very beautiful country"—which would have been prairie and woodlands—to the dwelling of the chief (*le chef*)³ in the Upper Nasoni settlement. Unfortunately, La Harpe was so engrossed in what was going on after the meeting with the welcoming party that he did not note down direction or leagues advanced on this last lap of his journey to the Upper Nasoni village. Nor did he even comment on whether the Red River was crossed.

A few days later, after some reconnaissance upriver, La Harpe decided to locate his post in the clearing of the "chief" of the Upper Nasoni, evidently the head chief. On April 22 he gave 30 *pistoles* of merchandise in exchange for the land (or for its use, as the chief may have viewed the transaction), to-

³Domingo Terán de los Rios called the headman of the Upper Nasoni a *caddí*, adopting the Hasinai Caddo term for this official. La Harpe used *le chef* throughout.

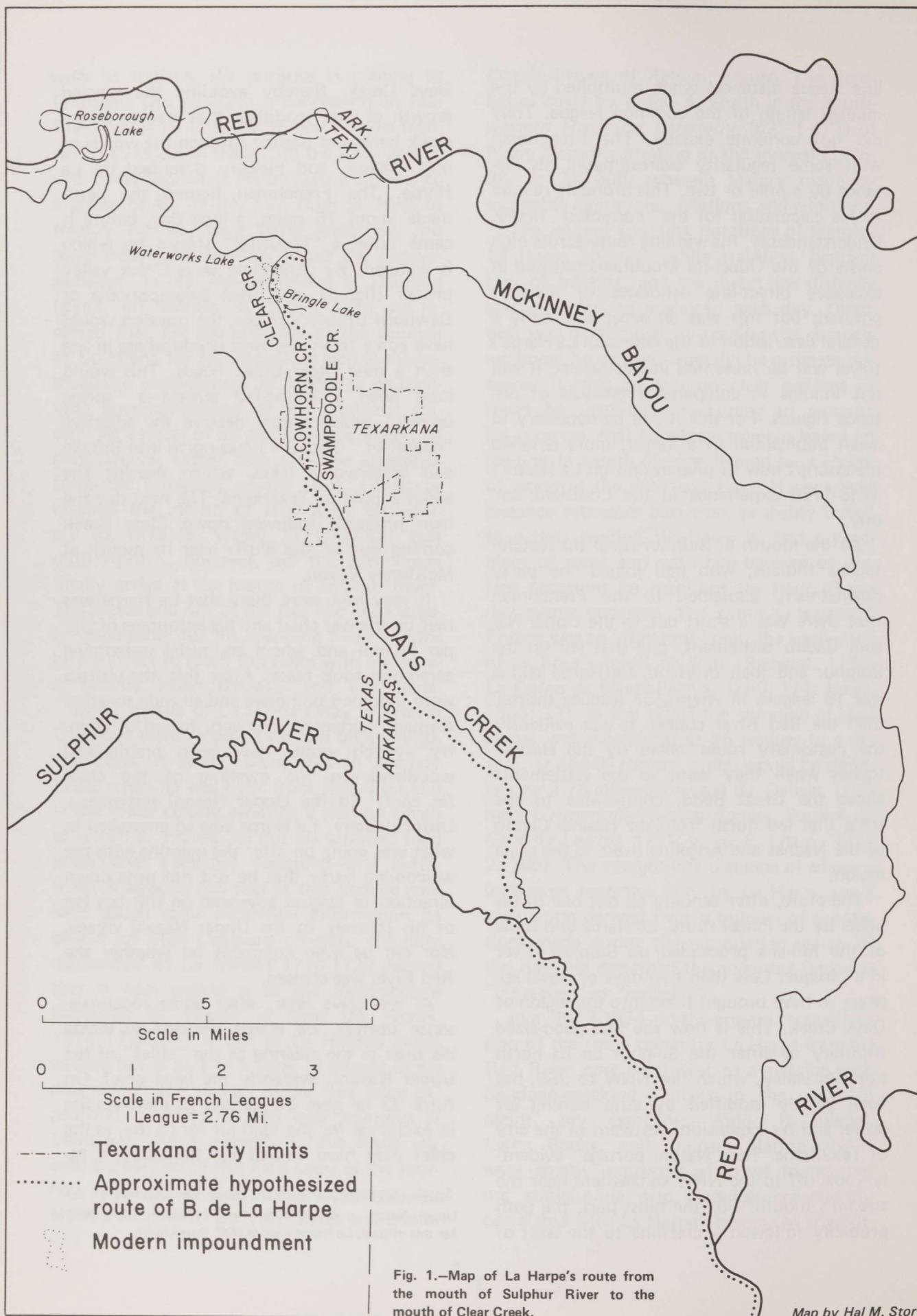


Fig. 1.—Map of La Harpe's route from the mouth of Sulphur River to the mouth of Clear Creek.

Map by Hal M. Story.

gether with the dwelling and arbors thereon. He supervised the erection there of a 110' by 20' cedar structure (La Harpe *Journal*, fol. 14). Later he surrounded this with a defensive work of some sort, probably a stockade, possibly with a ditch outside (Ibid., fol. 15).

La Harpe said his post was on the "left" of the river. Did this refer to the left side in ascending, or was it in descending from his reconnaissance upstream?

When La Harpe queried the assembled chiefs about other Caddo settlements in the region, he was told, "As regards the Kadohadacho they are at two leagues below the Nasoni and the *Natsoo*, and the Natchitoches at 3 leagues above all on the right of the river in [blank]" (*Journal*, fol. 13). Either "ascending" or "descending" might have been appropriate words for the blank space, and, moreover, would have been enlightening. This sentence too is obviously ambiguous, both in respect to the side of the river on which the individual groups were living and in their relationship to each other. Consideration of a related statement in the "Journal Historique Concernant l'Établissement des François à la Louisiane," written a few years later under the direction of or by La Harpe (M. Wedel, 1974: 36-67), only adds further uncertainty as to what was intended. This is because of the changed placement of the comma. It reads in the 1831 edition (p. 185): "The Kadohadacho were at this time 2 leagues below the Nasoni, and the *Natsoos* and the Natchitoches 3 leagues above on the right of the river."

Differences in published interpretations of the content of these sentences result from their ambiguity. Herbert E. Bolton (1914: 1: frp. map) placed all four of the Caddo groups on the north bank of Red River, with the Upper Nasoni and Nanatsoho close together, reflecting evidently the journal manuscript sentence. In contrast, John R. Swanton (1942: fig. 1) believed that while the Kadohadacho were downstream from

the Upper Nasoni, the Nanatsoho and Upper Natchitoches were neighbors several miles upstream, as one might interpret the *Journal Historique* passage. And he portrayed the three last-named peoples as all living on the south, that is on the right, of Red River in the modern sense of the usage. Stephen Williams (1964: 548) followed this depiction. J. B. Thoburn of the Oklahoma Historical Society (Lewis, 1924: n. 331-332) located the Nasoni on the south bank, while Ralph A. Smith placed them with the *Nadsoos* on the north, that is, on the right, in ascending (Smith, 1959: map opposite p. 532).

Before considering near whom the Nanatsoho were living and which comma placement was probably correct, let us try to determine with some sense of certainty on which side of the river each of these people lived. The Frenchman always used "right" and "left" in his journal in accordance with the direction he was proceeding, not necessarily as the river was flowing. Therefore, it might have been natural for him to describe the location of the Kadohadacho and Upper Natchitoches as they were encountered in ascending the Red River, that is, on the north side, but one cannot be sure that this was the case.

It is necessary here to seek the help of previous visitors to this locality. Three left records of their stay. The earliest was Henri Joutel, a French soldier, who in 1687 accompanied Father Jean Cavelier when he was ascending to the Illinois country after the murder of his brother, Robert Cavelier de La Salle. Joutel's journal has been lost. The La Galissonnière manuscript copy of the journal, which is in the *Archives Nationales* in Paris, unfortunately lacks the section that dealt with this portion of the journey. Therefore, one must use for primary sources excerpts from the original made by Claude Delisle, the French cartographer, and the Michel published edition of 1713, which is abridged and over-edited. This latter work was inadequately translated into English in

1714. The next recorded visitor was Henri de Tonti who in 1690 was heading south from the Illinois region to look for survivors of the La Salle expedition to the Gulf Coast. He left a 1693 memoir describing his visit to the region and an informative letter to his brother written in 1700 (Delanglez, 1939: 225-226). The following year, 1691, Domingo Terán de Los Rios arrived among the Upper Nasoni in a snowy, cold December. His journal survives, as well as a contemporary map of the area. The published translation of this journal made by Mattie Austin Hatcher is not wholly satisfactory in that there are unnoted omissions and some translation errors.

Do these visitors agree with La Harpe's possible placement of the Kadohadacho on the north bank of the Red? Joutel and Tonti do indeed. Terán makes no mention of them as a people separate from the Upper Nasoni. Joutel visited their main settlement after crossing the Red River from the south to march northeast (Michel, 1713: 28; Delisle, n.d.: 412). In fact, he gave their distance from the Nasoni river crossing as two leagues, which was exactly the same interval given by La Harpe 32 years later. This identity of figures would seem to indicate the same locality was occupied between 1687 and 1719, though there may have been some shifting due to house deterioration and for other reasons. It is likely this was the same settlement visited in March 1690 by Tonti as he went west on the north side of the river, as I interpret his route. His only mention of a river crossing is later, after he left the Kadohadacho. The abandoned "Caddo" site north of the river noted in a post-La Harpe account, that of Thomas Freeman's expedition of 1806 (see later), may correspond also.

The Upper Natchitoches were described by Tonti as being on the Red River in the region of the Upper Nasoni and Kadohadacho. Upon leaving this area, he wrote he crossed a river (presumably the Red) and by bearing a little left came upon what must have been the Hasi-

nai Caddo trace, which he then followed south. This would suggest a north bank location in 1690 for the Upper Natchitoches. Therefore, these other documentary sources appear to indicate that La Harpe, when using "right" in his ambiguous statements, intended to place the Kadohadacho and Upper Natchitoches settlements on the north bank of the Red.

As noted earlier, La Harpe wrote of his post in the Upper Nasoni hamlet as on the "left bank" of the Red, thus it would seem on the opposite side from the Kadohadacho and Upper Natchitoches. A south bank location is indisputably confirmed in the Joutel and Terán journals and is illustrated on the Terán map (fig. 2). The small north bank settlement of five holdings opposite the other, also shown on this map, is not reported in the Joutel-related documents or by La Harpe. By 1719 enemy pressures may have caused it to move across the Red.

As to the Nanatsoho in 1719, that depends on which comma one wishes to respect, whether the later position in the *Journal Historique* is considered a correction or a copying error. If they were living near the Upper Natchitoches they were on the north side of the Red, if near the Upper Nasoni, they were on the south. This will be given further consideration later. Since Tonti did not mention their presence in this region in 1690, it is suggested that their move from a former site ten leagues upstream, as reported by La Harpe (*Journal*, fol. 13), occurred between 1690 and 1719.

It may now be seen that the final phrase of the controversial journal sentence—"all on the right of the river"—means in ascending and refers to the Kadohadacho and probably the Upper Natchitoches as on the north, possibly to the Nanatsoho. The Upper Nasoni were unquestionably south of the Red.

Since the locations of the other settlements were given in relation to the Upper

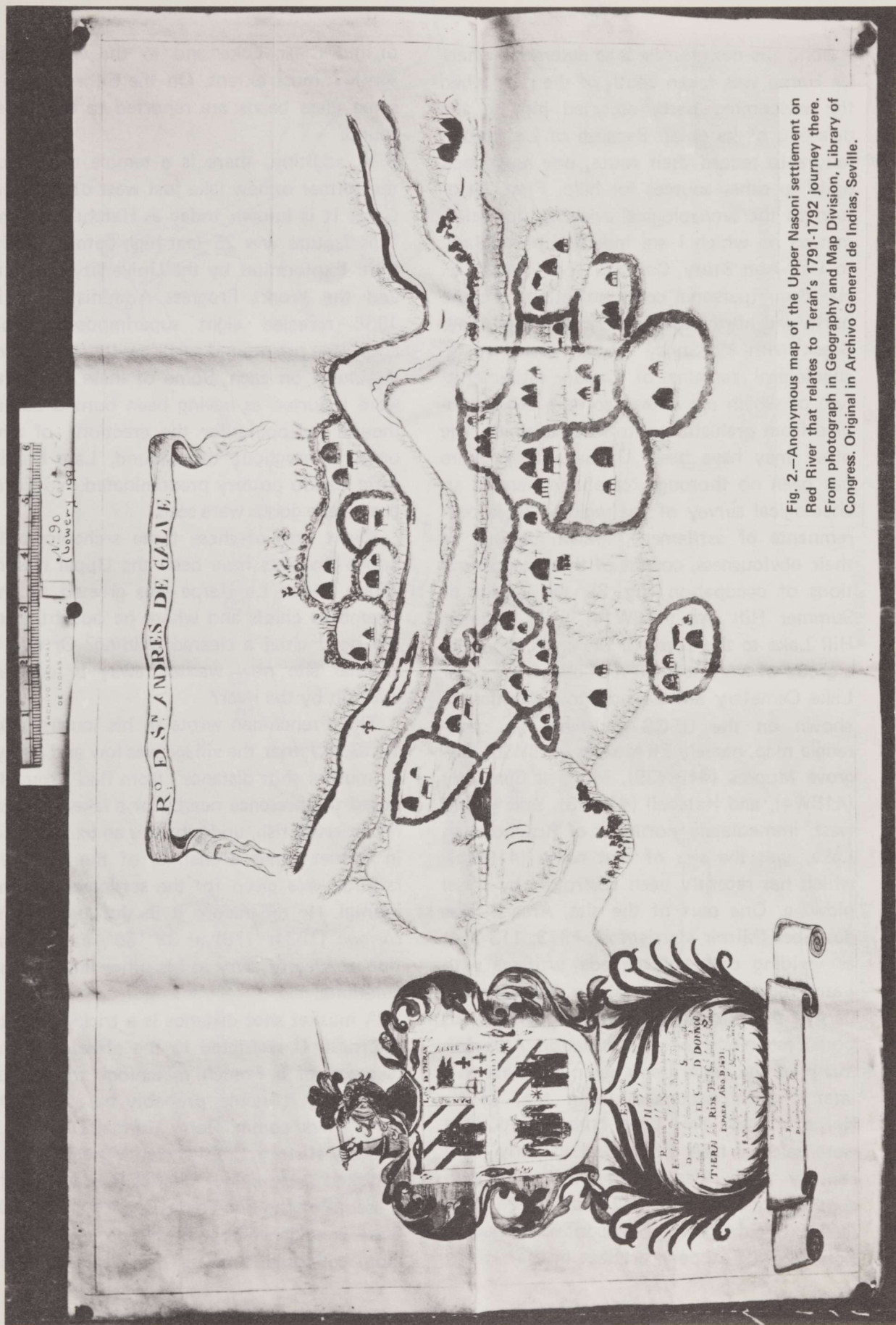


Fig. 2.—Anonymous map of the Upper Nasoni settlement on Red River that relates to Terán's 1791-1792 journey there. From photograph in Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress. Original in Archivo General de Indias, Seville.

Nasoni, the next hurdle is to determine where La Harpe was taken south of the river when the welcoming party escorted him to the dwelling of its chief. Because of La Harpe's failure to record their route, one must look again to other sources for help. First, let us turn to the archeological evidence, for information on which I am indebted particularly to Dee Ann Story, Carolyn Good, and D. L. Hamilton (personal communication). To the north and northwest of the junction of Clear Creek with McKinney Bayou, there are archeological remains of Caddo settlements, two of which are known to have been occupied from prehistoric into historic times. The other may have been. Unfortunately, there has been no thorough, carefully planned archeological survey of the region. The known remnants of settlement, known because of their obviousness, consist of three concentrations of occupation (fig. 3): the Tillson or Summer Hill site (41BW14), near Summer Hill Lake to the north of the creek junction; a group of sites northwest of it near the Clear Lake Cemetery and School, now abandoned, shown on the USGS Barkman TX. quadrangle map, namely Eli Moores (41BW2); Hargrove Moores (41BW39), Mitchell Cemetery (41BW4), and Hatchell (41BW3). Still farther west, immediately northeast of Roseborough Lake, was the site of that name (41BW5), which has recently been destroyed by chisel plowing. One part of the site, Area B, was described (Miroir, Harris et al., 1973: 113-114) as yielding only native-made artifacts with Late Prehistoric Caddo pottery. The southern part of the site, Area A, revealed evidence of both French and Indian occupation. Although many of the trade items seem to relate to a later French occupancy than that of La Harpe, certain glass bead types found there were said to have been used in early 18th century trade. Also within the ceramic concept of Late Prehistoric Caddo, there is sequential evidence for long-continuing habitation before European contact in the vicinity

of old Clear Lake and to the west of its southernmost extent. On the Eli Moores site some glass beads are reported to have been found.

In addition, there is a temple mound on the former oxbow lake just west of old Clear Lake. It is known today as Hatchell Mound. This feature was 25 feet high before excavation. Exploration by the University of Texas and the Works Progress Administration in 1938 revealed eight superimposed floors above the pre-mound surface with evidence of structures on each. Some of these structures were reported as having been burned before mound recapping for the erection of new ones. Throughout the mound, Late Prehistoric Caddo pottery predominated. No European trade goods were seen.

Might one of these three archeologically known hamlets have been the Upper Nasoni village where La Harpe was greeted by the assembled chiefs and where he bought from the head chief a cleared holding? Or was it another site now washed away or covered with silt by the river?

The Frenchman wrote in his journal (*fol.* 13-13 *vo.*) that the village was low and sandy, a "musket shot distance" from Red River. He noted the presence nearby of a lake in which he observed fish, undoubtedly an oxbow lake, in former times a channel of the river. No latitude was given for the settlement in the journal. He did record it in the *Journal Historique* (1831: 179) as 33° 55', a computation as clearly awry as his other latitude calculations.

A musket shot distance is a tricky term to interpret. If restricted to the effective firing distance of a French matchlock musket of that time, it would probably be about 100 yards (pers. comm. Harry Hunter, Division of Military History, Smithsonian Museum of History and Technology; Charles E. Hanson, Jr., Museum of the Fur Trade, Chadron, NE). But there is evidence that La Harpe used it in a more colloquial sense as it is defined in the

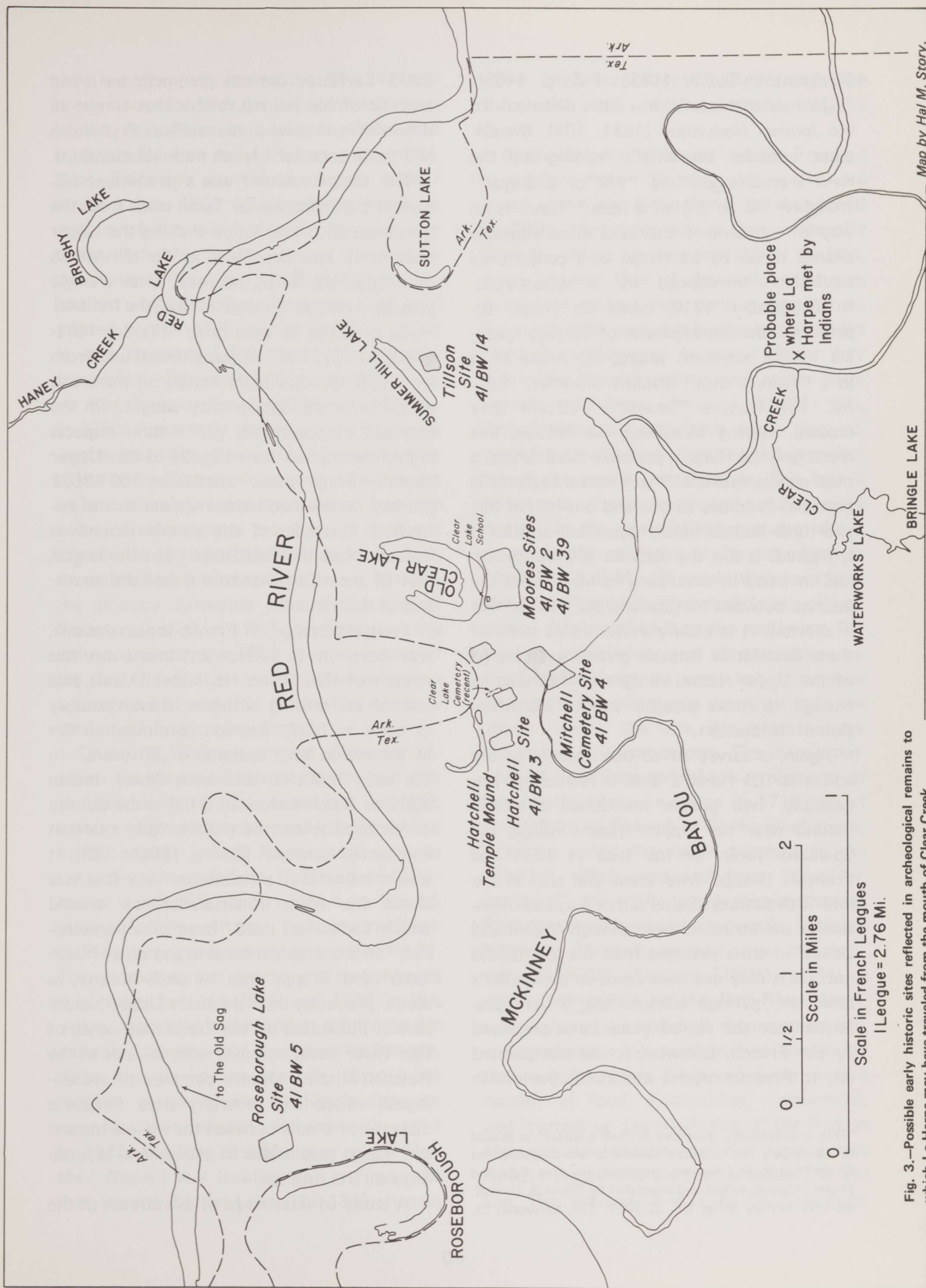


Fig. 3.—Possible early historic sites reflected in archeological remains to which La Harpe may have traveled from the mouth of Clear Creek.

Dictionnaire Quillet (1956: P-Z, p. 1488): "à peu de distance" (at a little distance). In the *Journal Historique* (1831: 185), the distance between the chief's holding and the river was changed to "1/8 of a league," (roughly 1/3 to 3/8 of a mile.⁴ There is no way of knowing if this is a knowledgeable change made by La Harpe or a conjectured equivalent introduced by a subordinate. In September 1719, when La Harpe approached the encampment of Wichita speakers in the southern plains, he wrote of it as a "musket shot" distance (*Journal*, 1831: fol. 19) from a "beautiful" stream they crossed. Having identified, we believe, this creek and La Harpe's probable destination, a map measurement of the distance between is possible. It comes to one and one-half or one and three-fourths miles, depending on how it is figured. Is this the distance the Frenchman had in mind in describing in his journal the interval between his post and the river, or was it shorter? It is clearly evident that none of these descriptive features given by La Harpe of the Upper Nasoni village site is distinctive enough to make possible precise identification of its location.

Again, a survey of written records before and after La Harpe's time is rewarding. For example, two people mentioned a temple mound near the Upper Nasoni village, the Spaniard Terán de los Rios in 1691 and François Grappé who knew the area in the mid-18th century. Joutel earlier may have mentioned the structure even though Michel and Delisle in their excerpts from his journal did not. Or it may not have come to the soldier's attention, perhaps because the Indians preferred that the sacred place be unperceived by the French. Likewise, it was not pointed out to Freeman by his Indian companions in

1806. La Harpe did not comment on it but analysis of his journal reveals that almost all the information he presented was that which had pertinence for French trade relationships.

The temple mound was a prominent feature of the landscape as Terán came from the southwest into the region seeking the Upper Nasoni. It was described as "a hill which dominated the entire country" with a single structure on top "in which they [the Indians] made offerings to their gods" (Terán, 1691-1692, p. 10). The hill was climbed and from its height the Spaniards viewed on the south of the river the hamlet they sought. On the scaleless, diagrammatic, yet in some respects highly descriptive map (fig. 2) of this Upper Nasoni village made after the 1691-1692 journey, a few habitations appear to the immediate northeast of the temple mound as well as across the Red River. But the largest part of the village lies to the east and south-east of the mound.

François Grappé, of French-Indian descent, was born in a Caddo settlement on this stretch of Red River. His father, Alexis, had carried on trading activities there, possibly as early as 1737. The son continued to live in the region for "upwards of 30 years." In the early 1800s he told John Sibley, Indian agent at Natchitoches, of a hill in the vicinity of his birth where the Indians "pay a devout and sacred homage" (Sibley, 1805b: 729). It was a mile from a handsome lake that was about five miles in circumference, around which Caddo had lived "from time immemorial." If the temple mound in the case of both Terán and Grappé was Hatchell Mound, as seems probable, then the main Upper Nasoni hamlet illustrated on the Terán map south of Red River could coincide with the area of the Hatchell-Mitchell-Moores complex of archeological village and cemetery sites. Grappé's distance of a mile between the temple mound and village would also fit the general Moores-Mitchell site locality.

A study of later maps of this stretch of the

⁴This is erroneously translated as "half a league" in Bénard de La Harpe's *The Historical Journal of the Establishment of the French in Louisiana*, translated by Joan Cain and Virginia Koenig, edited and annotated by Glenn R. Conrad, the USL History Series No. 3, 1971: 134, Lafayette, La.

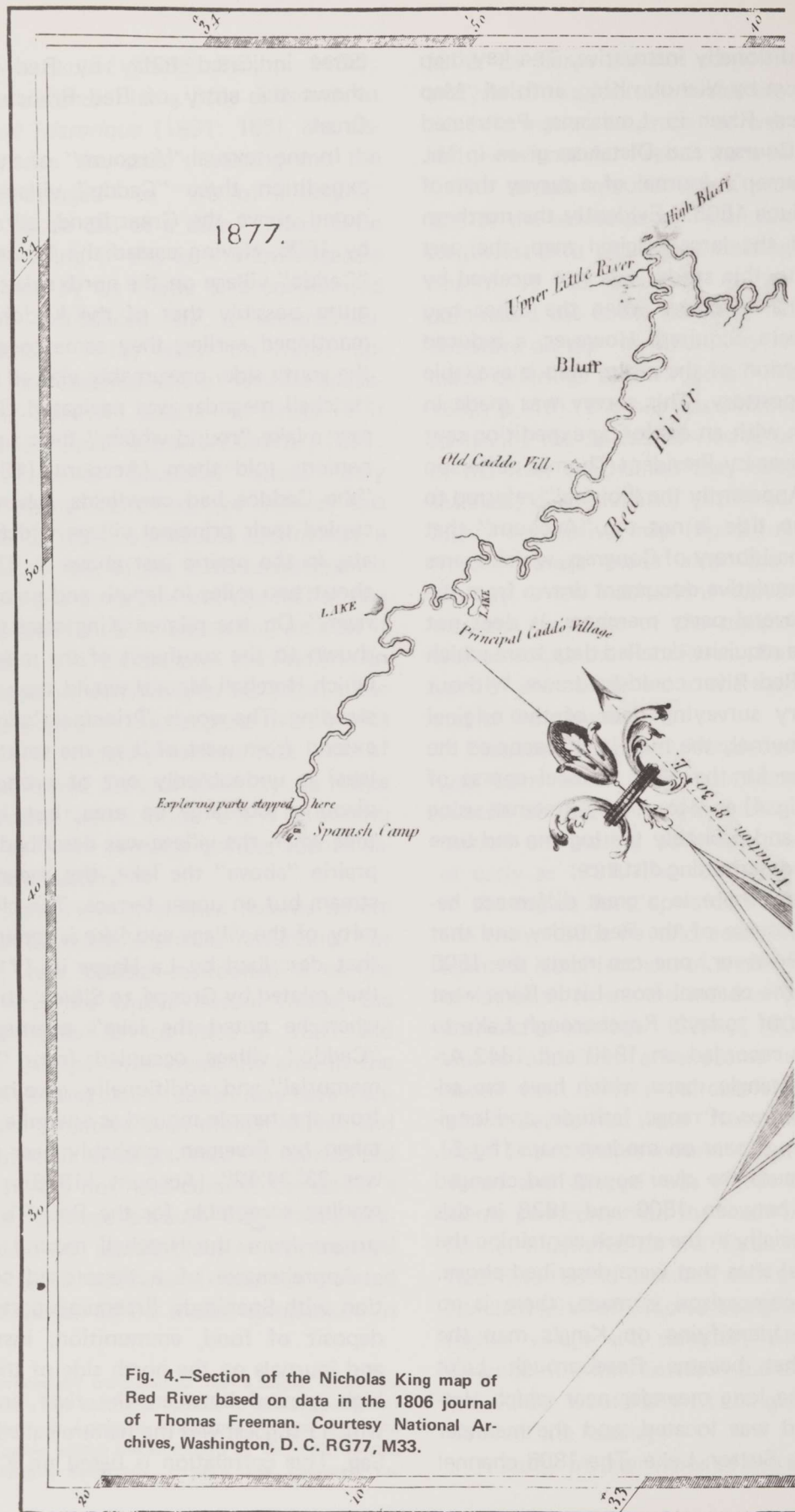
river is additionally instructive. The key map is one drawn by Nicholas King, entitled "Map of the Red River in Louisiana, Protracted from the Courses and Distances given in Mr. Thos. Freeman's Journal of a survey thereof made in June 1806." Evidently the northern section of the large original map, the part pertinent to this study, was not received by the National Archives when the other two sections were acquired. However, a reduced printed version of the entire map is available in that repository. This survey was made in connection with an exploring expedition sent up Red River by President Thomas Jefferson in 1806. Apparently the "journal" referred to in the map title is not the "Account" that exists in the Library of Congress, which seems to be a cumulative document drawn from the notes of several party members. It does not contain the requisite detailed data from which a map of Red River could be drawn. Without the primary surveying data of the original Freeman journal, the map itself becomes the only source for the 1806 channel course of the Red (fig. 4) as recorded by Freeman using a compass and probably the log-line and time method of determining distance.

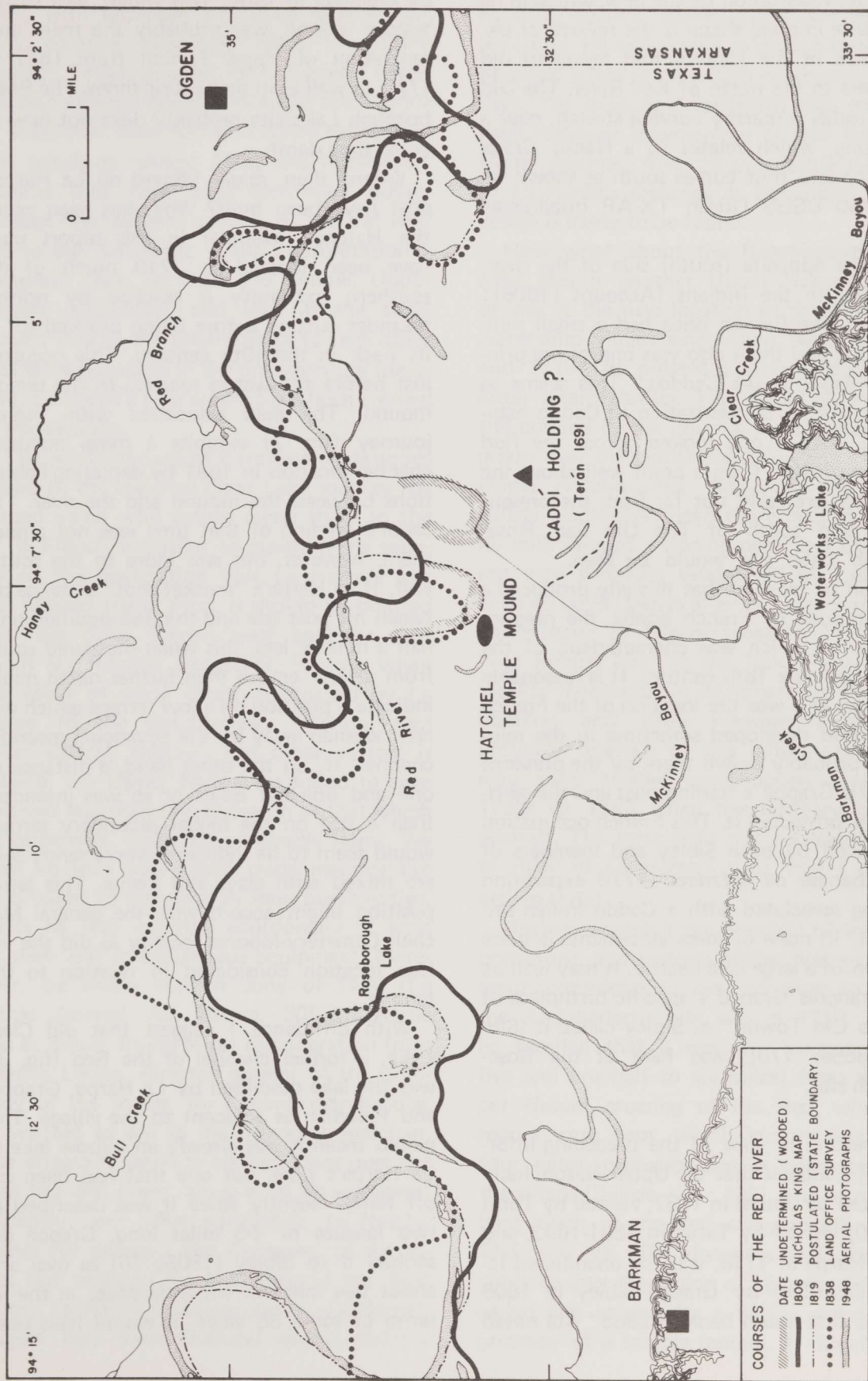
Of course, there is a great difference between the course of the Red today and that in 1806. However, one can relate the 1806 pattern of the channel from Little River west to the area of today's Roseborough Lake to the pattern recorded on 1840 and 1842 Arkansas quadrangle maps which have the additional features of range, latitude, and longitude as they appear on modern maps (fig. 5). This is because the river course had changed very little between 1806 and 1838 in this region, especially in the stretch containing the archeological sites that were described above. When this comparison is made, there is no problem in identifying on King's map the meander that became Roseborough Lake in 1872, the long meander near which Hatchell Mound was located, and the meander that became Sutton Lake. The 1806 channel

curve indicated today by Red Lake even shows the entry of Red Branch or Haney Creek.

In the textual "Account" of the Freeman expedition three "Caddo" village sites are noted above the Great Bend, all abandoned by 1806. Having passed the former site of a "Caddo" village on the north side of the Red, quite possibly that of the Kadohadacho as mentioned earlier, they came to another on the south side, presumably viewed before the Hatchell meander was navigated. There they saw a lake "round which," their Indian companions told them (Account [1806]: 84), "the Caddos had cornfields, when they occupied their principal village which was situate, in the prairie just above it. This lake is about two miles in length and parallel to the river." On the related King map the lake is shown to the southeast of the meander near which Hatchell Mound would then have been standing. The words "Principal Caddo village" extend from west of it to the southeast. The label is undoubtedly out of proportion, indicating too large an area, but it suggests that when the village was described as in the prairie "above" the lake, this meant not upstream but an upper terrace. The close proximity of the village and lake is reminiscent of that described by La Harpe in 1719 and of that related by Grappé to Sibley, cited above, when he noted the lake's nearness to the "Caddo" village occupied from "time immemorial" and, additionally, gave its distance from the temple mound as one mile. Latitude taken by Freeman, probably near the river, was $33^{\circ}34'42''$ (Account [1806], p. 84), a reading acceptable for the Red River downstream from the Hatchell mound meander.

Apprehensive of a threatened confrontation with Spaniards, Freeman's party made a deposit of food, ammunition, instruments, and journals on the north side of the Red on high ground between the river and a lake which I suggest was the feature called The Old Sag. This correlation is based on King's pre-





G.R.L.

Fig. 5.—Map illustrating the similarity of Red River course patterns from 1806 to 1838 and their relation to the modern channel.

sumed representation of the lake, which in its lengthwise curving shape is the reverse of oxbow lakes in the locality that represent old meanders to the north of Red River. The Old Sag is today a marshy curving stretch, over a mile long, which relates to a Haney Creek tributary and thus curves south as shown on the 1950 USGS Odgen TX-AR quadrangle map.

On the opposite (south) side of the river, according to the Indians (Account [1806]: 85-86), "The French once had a small military post; and there also was one of the principal villages of the Caddos." This seems to refer to a third concentration of Caddo habitations. And if one looked across the Red River southward from a point well above the river bed, probably not far from the present course and south of The Old Sag, Roseborough Lake site would be seen.

It will be recalled that this site produced a large amount of French goods, the preponderance of which was characteristic of the middle and late 18th century. It is reasonable to believe this was the location of the French village that developed sometime in the mid-1700s, probably drawn there by the presence of Alexis Grappé's trading post and the garrison that protected it. This French occupation is reported by both Sibley and members of the Athanase de Mézières' 1770 expedition as being associated with a Caddo Indian settlement. In none of these statements is there mention of a large lake nearby. It may well be that François Grappé's specific birthplace at "Caddo Old Towns," as Sibley called it (Sibley, 1805a: 170), was here at the Roseborough site.

Therefore, in view of the preceding information, I suggest that the Upper Nasoni hamlet visited by Joutel in 1687, viewed by Tonti in 1690, visited by Terán in 1691-1692, and by La Harpe in 1719, was the abandoned locality described by Grappé-Sibley in 1805 and the first south bank "Caddo" site noted

by Freeman in 1806. This village, east of the temple mound, was probably the main concentration of Upper Nasoni from 1687 to 1720, as well as in prehistoric times. The Roseborough Lake site probably does not have an equal time depth.

Where, then, might Bénard de La Harpe's post have been built? What has been called the Hatchell meander in this report must have been located in 1719 north of the southern extremity it reached by normal meander cutting before being blocked off at its neck in the 19th century. This occurred just before the waters reached to the temple mound. The map associated with Terán's journey (fig. 2) exhibits a more northern channel location in 1691 by depicting habitations between the mound and the river. The *caddi's* holding of that time was not among them, however, but was more to the southeast. If La Harpe's "musket shot" distance between his post site and the Red signified only half a mile or less, this when measured south from a river course then farther north might indicate a position on a low terrace which was later washed away by the advancing meander channel. If, on the other hand, a distance of one and one-half miles or so was intended, then a site on the higher secondary terrace would seem to be indicated where sandy soils are mixed with clays and loams. This latter position might accord with the general Mitchell Cemetery-Moores locality as did the village location considered in relation to the temple.

With diffidence I suggest that old Clear Lake, a former channel of the Red (fig. 3), was the lake described by La Harpe, Grappé, and Freeman as adjacent to the village. This would mean it was already an oxbow lake in La Harpe's time, but one that had been cut off fairly recently since it was described as two leagues or 4-5 miles long. Grappé described it to Sibley (1805b:76) as oval and about five miles in circumference. In the interim of some 86 years, it would have been

filling with sediment and plant growth. On 19th century headright maps of Bowie County, Texas, a small lake (Carter's Lake) is drawn where a remnant of Clear Lake might be expected. Now the area is dry except for rain ponds at certain times and a diversion channel that runs from McKinney Bayou through the eastern portion of the old lake bed to the Red River. If this interpretation is accepted, then we have the temple, Upper Nasoni settlement, and lake in the same locality and in the relationships to each other that were described in the documentary literature. La Harpe's post would have been erected in this vicinity.

The small amount of European trade goods found in the Hatchell-Clear Lake locality has caused some who would relate them to the 1719 French intrusion to question the validity of the postulation that La Harpe's fort was located there. First, it should be pointed out that these French were here for only about six months altogether. Second, when the value of trade goods distributed by La Harpe to the Natchitoches, Wichita, Red River Caddo, Hasinai, and other visitors is totaled, the Upper Nasoni are found to have received less than one-sixteenth of that which he dispensed, including perishable items. We have no idea how much trade merchandise he brought to the area. In four, possibly five, boats he was carrying additionally at least 31 men and miscellaneous equipment. Moreover, we know that in June of 1720 (La Harpe *Journal*, fol. 29 vo. - 30) La Harpe was at Biloxi trying to get remuneration from Charles LeGac, director general of the Company of the Indies, for leftover merchandise he wanted to sell to the company, merchandise originally taken to his Red River post but then brought down, along with his armament evidently, and other equipment, to Natchitoches for deposit. The Company of the Indies had replaced the Company of the West during La Harpe's absence upriver. La Harpe's project had been financed almost entirely

by him, costing 10,000 *livres*, according to his claim. He was trying to salvage as much as he could when he closed his concession operation. The military detachment also seems to have returned downstream at that time (La Harpe *Journal*, fols. 25-vo.). Little evidence of La Harpe's presence at the Upper Nasoni village is likely to be found.

Now what about the Roseborough Lake site? Was it another Upper Nasoni hamlet or was it the new location of the *Nadsoo* or Nanatsoho village established between 1690 and 1719? At present I incline toward the latter interpretation. This would accord with the comma in the *Journal* which placed this group near the Upper Nasoni rather than the Upper Natchitoches. Adjoining the Indian village would have been the French one with its mill, Grappé's trading post, and the garrison very probably established by Louis Juchereau de St. Denys after he became resident commander at Natchitoches in 1722. The "old French fort" in the Roseborough Lake locality mentioned in documents of the 1770 Mézières and 1806 Freeman expeditions probably referred to this military post that may have existed continuously from the 1720s to 1763 when the territory became Spanish. The term does not necessarily have to refer to La Harpe's post, and I do not believe it did.

Having suggested the location of the main prehistoric and historic Upper Nasoni settlement, consideration may be given to where the Kadohadacho site was in 1719. It will be recalled that it was two leagues (about five and one-half to six miles) from the Upper Nasoni crossing of the Red, where pirogues were kept, which in turn was about four miles, probably east or northeast from the village (Delisle, n.d.: 139). The route overland north of the Red was generally to the ENE and NE. The distances and directions guide us into the region of Temple, Arkansas, which was named for a family and not the presence of a temple mound. If this site was

the same "round prairie" of Grappé and Freeman, then it is marked on the King map (fig. 4), presumably as Freeman located it in his survey notes. Comparing river course patterns on that 1806 map and an 1840 Arkansas public land survey quadrangle sheet, we find the 1806 site marked to the north-east of an old river meander that by 1838, when it was surveyed, had become an oxbow lake called Muddy Lake. A remnant of it is still so named on the modern Homan NSGS quadrangle map. This area conforms also to the eight-mile overland distance to Little River recorded by Freeman (Account [1806], p. 79). As Dr. Frank Schambach of the Arkansas Archeological Survey points out (personal communication), this is another region where only the obvious archeological features are known. There has not been a thorough planned survey. This site, if it has not been destroyed by construction or farming activities, has yet to be found.

The Upper Natchitoches north bank settlement upstream three leagues or 8-9 miles from the Upper Nasoni, probably an overland distance, is also unknown. It is possible that cultural remains may still exist in the region. The search is complicated by the paucity of fact regarding the location, our ignorance of the exact 1719 river course, and Corps of Engineers construction work of some time back in the area.

Finally, there remains the problem of the old *Nadsoo* site, ten leagues or about 25-30 miles upriver by water in 1719 from the Up-

per Nasoni village. It was described by La Harpe as in a fine situation with a bluff jutting into the river that would have been suitable for establishment of a fort (*Journal*, fol. 13). On lower terraces was fertile land for growing crops. He also observed prairie nearby, springs, and fruit trees, probably plum. The pre-1700 occupation would not be expected to contain European trade materials beyond possibly a few items of Spanish origin. Might this correspond to the pre-contact complex at the Bowman site (3LR46)? This site in Little River County, Arkansas is no longer on the river but lies about one and one-half miles to its north, bounded on the east and south by an old river channel, Choctaw Bayou.

In conclusion, as a result of this ethno-historic study, it should be possible for archeologists to identify the historic Upper Nasoni cultural complex. Comparison of archeological materials found south of old Clear Lake with those of the Roseborough Lake site may enable researchers to suggest more confidently than is now possible whether this was a Nanatsoho or another Upper Nasoni hamlet. Furthermore, careful searching may yet reveal both the Kadohadacho and Upper Natchitoches sites so that their cultural complexes can be identified with some assurance. Then the move back into prehistory could begin. This development would probably be of more importance than determination of the exact site of La Harpe's post.

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The Texas Memorial Museum, The University of Texas at Austin, is located at 2400 Trinity Street, Austin, Texas 78705. Its director is William G. Reeder. Four floors of exhibits relate to natural and civic history, anthropology, and geology-paleontology. The museum is open from 9 to 5 Mondays through Saturdays, and 1 to 5 on Sundays. There is no charge for admission.

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